The Present Situation and Recent Changes of Population, Community and Economy in the Suburbs of Tokyo

Hiroo HARADA †

Shiro ABE††

1. Introduction

A shift in the location and functions of Japan's capital accompanied the enormous changes that took place when Japan advanced from the Edo period to the Meiji period. In 1869, the capital was moved from Kyoto, western part of Japan, to Tokyo, eastern part of Japan. But at the same time, under the Edo feudal government, a large number of hatamoto (samurai) and gokenin (vassals) instead relocated with the Tokugawa family to Shizuoka, central part of Japan, and other locations. Moving the capital thus caused Tokyo's population to fall instead of grow. But once the new Meiji government became established, there was a clear migration of people to Tokyo. The population of Tokyo has increased consistently (social growth) since then. However,

† Dean, Graduate School of Economics. Professor of Public Finance, Senshu University
†† Lecturer (part-time), Senshu University

Japan was forced to rebuild its government once again following the end of World War II in 1945. The result was a drop in the populations of Tokyo and other large cities caused by economic ruin and the difficulty in making a living in urban areas. As Japan's economy recovered in later years, though, there was an extremely large migration of people to Tokyo and the surrounding area. The government enacted housing programs, restrictions on building factories and other measures for urban areas. These actions could be called policy responses to rapid economic growth in the Tokyo area that were taken after this growth had already started. In recent years, there has been a significant change in the characteristics of people living in Tokyo and the surrounding area. One cause is the bursting of the asset bubble. But major shifts in the composition and size of the population also contributed to this change.

How should we interpret this enormous social change that occurred in the Tokyo area over a period of only 140 years? This involves much more than merely a shift in life styles. A change in perception most likely accompanied these events, too. National and local governments alike enacted a broad range of measures in response to this social change. This paper probably incorporates research subjects and themes that are extremely valuable from perspectives that include social capital, which is the central theme of this project. Based on this awareness of the problem, we have analyzed how the population of Tokyo evolved in the postwar years, particularly after 1970.

Japan's population started decreasing in 2006, an unmistakable sign that the era of an aging population with fewer children has arrived. There have been extensive discussions and studies concerning the multitude of problems arising from a declining population. However, even as Japan's total population falls, the population of the metropolitan area (Tokyo, Kanagawa, Saitama, Chiba) continues to climb. This includes constant population growth in peripheral areas of Tokyo's 23 wards, such as the wards of Setagaya and Nerima. At the same time, there has been a large volume of urban renewal projects, especially since the 1990s. There were many contributing factors. Examples include the relocation of factories to suburban areas, a shift in the structure of Japan's industrial activity and disaster-prevention problems associated with aging buildings. These activities increased the supply of new housing in the center of Tokyo as well, reversing the population decline in urban neighborhoods as people started returning to central Tokyo. On the other hand, the population started falling in many Tokyo area communities more than 50km from central Tokyo. Communities with no distinctive local industry or facilities of large corporations became less attractive as bed towns.

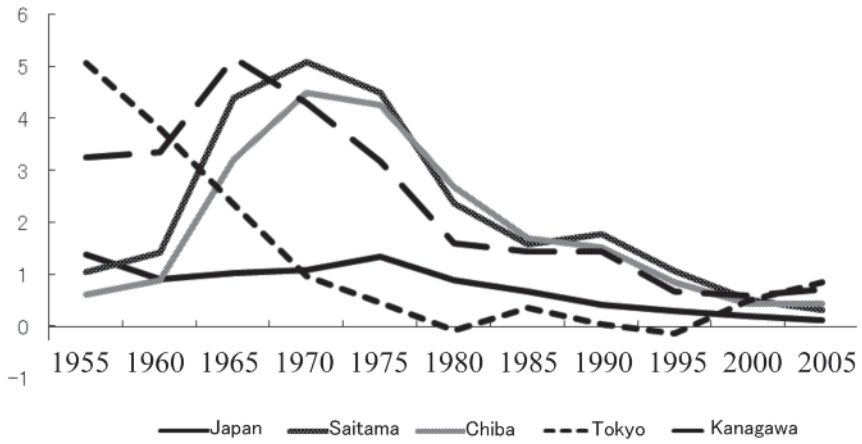
The population continues to increase in areas within 50km of central Tokyo. But this growth is accompanied by an increase in the number of retirees and the relocation of corporate facilities like factories and research centers from central Tokyo to other locations. These relocations indicate that the number of people commuting to central Tokyo from the suburbs may be declining. To confirm this decline, Harada-Abe (2009) gathered information in the city

of Kawasaki about changes in where people go every day for work or school, the occupations of workers, industries in Kawasaki city, and other items. One noteworthy change is the closing of factories at Kawasaki and Saiwai wards in Kawasaki city, which are industrial wards, because of a structural change in industries. Factory sites became excellent locations for housing developments, resulting in growth in the number of people commuting to Tokyo from Kawasaki. At the same time, the number of people commuting to Tokyo has decreased in Kawasaki's "bed-town" wards of Tama and Asao. More people are finding jobs locally, which is reducing the role of these wards as a bed town for Tokyo. For this study, we expanded our geographic coverage to examine five regions. The regions include the area between the cities of Sagamihara and Atsugi on the Odakyu railway line and areas within Tokyo that are located mostly along railway lines. We then studied the status and transformation of the population, community and economy in these areas as well as in the east Katsushika region of Chiba prefecture, which is on the Joban line.

2. Structure of Metropolitan area population

After the war, the population of the Metropolitan area has been climbing steadily. Many factors contributed to this growth, including increases in the numbers of students and workers. However, as shown in Figure 1, average annual population growth rates are different in each Tokyo area prefecture. Causes probably include differences in the timing of housing construction and the potential for building more housing, the price of land, and other parameters.

Figure 1
Average Annual Population Growth Rate



Reference: Population Statistics (2009), National Institute of Population and Social Security Research

In 1955, only Tokyo and Kanagawa had growth rates higher than the national average. Population growth in Saitama and Chiba was below average. At this time, Tokyo was posting a very high population growth rat of 5.07%.

Between 1955 and 1960, population growth in all Metropolitan area prefectures was higher than the national average. Tokyo's growth rate started declining but remained the highest of the four prefectures.

Between 1960 and 1965, all four prefectures posted population growth rates above the national average again. However, Tokyo's growth rate continued to decline, falling to the lowest among the Metropolitan area prefectures. Kanagawa was growing the fastest and there were rapid increases in the population growth rates in Saitama and Chiba.

Between 1965 and 1970, Saitama rose to first place and Chiba had the second-fastest population growth. Additionally, Tokyo's average growth rate of 0.97% was below the national average.

Between 1970 and 1975, there was no change in the ranking of growth rates. However, the growth rates declined in all four prefectures, perhaps because of the oil crisis.

Between 1975 and 1980, Tokyo's population decreased at an average annual rate of 0.09%. In the other three prefectures, the growth rate declined as Chiba ranked first in the Tokyo area for the first time.

Between 1980 and 1985, Tokyo's population resumed its growth.

Between 1985 and 1990, the population growth rate in Tokyo started declining again, Skyrocketing land prices may be responsible. But the growth rate in Saitama increased at the same time, returning this prefecture to first place in population growth.

Between 1990 and 1995, Tokyo's growth rate was again negative as the population decreased at an average annual rate of 0.14%. This was the largest rate of decline since 1955.

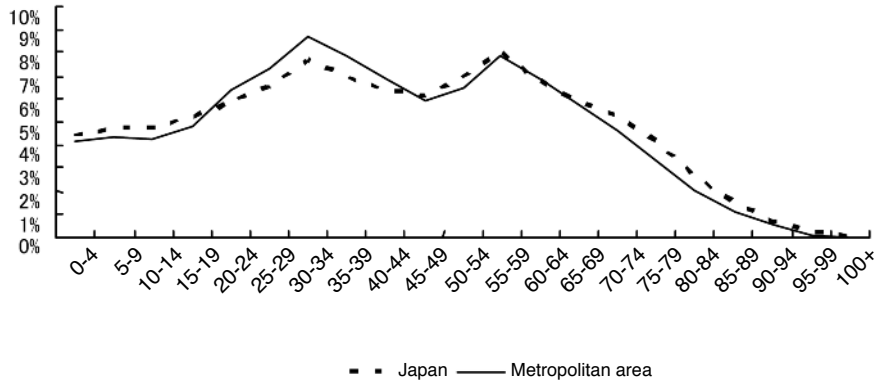
Between 1995 and 2000, the growth rate in all four prefectures was higher than the national average for the first time in about 30 years. Kanagawa ranked first and Tokyo was third.

Between 2000 and 2005, Tokyo returned to first place with an average annual growth rate of 0.84% and Saitama fell to last place among the four prefectures for the first time.

These statistics can be interpreted to show that development projects took place first in Tokyo and then Kanagawa, Saitama and Chiba during the postwar years. Then urban revitalization and redevelopment projects spurred renewed population growth in Tokyo and Kanagawa.

Next, we will examine the composition of the Metropolitan area population based on age segments. Figure 2 shows a comparison of the age distribution for Japan and the Tokyo area.

Figure 2
Population Composition by Age Segment (2005)



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Figure 2 shows that the percentage of the population below the age of 20 is lower in the Metropolitan than for Japan as a whole. But the percentage for ages 20 to 44 is much higher than the national average. Percentages for the 40-44 segment and ages 55 to 69 all generally match the national average. Percentages for the 50-54 segment and ages 70 and higher are all below the national average. These statistics tell us that the Metropolitan area has a large percentage of residents belonging to younger generations but a small percentage of children. In addition, the percentage of seniors is low. The reason is that many people go to the Metropolitan area to attend a university or start a career and end up staying. This category accounts for a large share of residents under the age of 45.

The conclusion is that the Metropolitan area's population is increasing because the region has many residents belonging to younger generations, with the exception of children. As a result, the population is characterized by a large percentage of younger generations but small percentages of children and seniors.

3. Population Structure by distance: Tokyo to Odawara

As we just noted, the percentage of residents between the ages of 20 to 44 is above the national average in the Metropolitan area. The next step is to determine the age composition of residents living near Tokyo. Of course, the age composition of residents differs depending on many factors. Among these factors are distance from central Tokyo, the years when housing was constructed, and the existence of nearby factories or universities. To study this subject, we examined how the age composition of the population changes as the distance between central Tokyo and Odawara increases. The area between Tokyo and Odawara was chosen because, as is shown later, Odawara's population closely resembles the composition of the population of

Japan. We therefore believe this is area is well suited to examining how the population changes as we go farther out from central Tokyo.

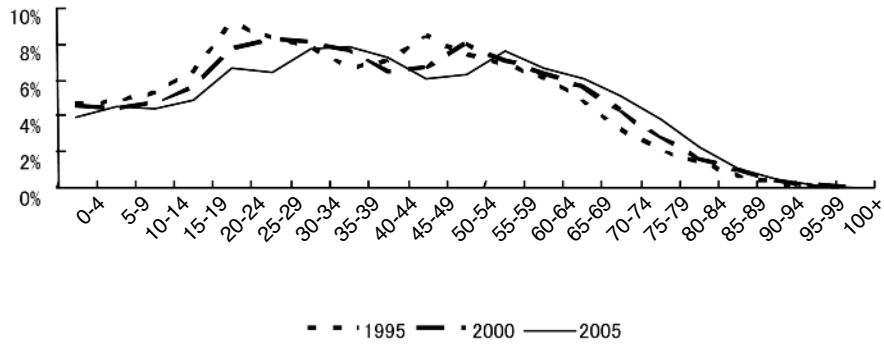
Three rail lines link Odawara Station with Tokyo: the JR Tokaido bullet train, the JR Tokaido Line and the Odakyu Odawara Line. We excluded the bullet train because it is not normally used by commuters. To perform the study, we divided the distance between Odawara and Tokyo into 10-kilometer intervals. The intervals begin at Shinjuku Station for the Odakyu Line and Tokyo Station for the Tokaido Line, which is where each line begins.

The area that includes the city of Kawasaki, which is 20km from central Tokyo, is not covered because this area was already included in Harada-Abe (2009). In addition, we have not included the Yokohama Station district because this is not an area that serves as a bed town for Tokyo. Since the distance between Tokyo and Yokohama stations is 28.8km, this paper covers only sectors between Tokyo and Odawara that are more than 30km from Tokyo.

We will begin by looking at the 30km-39km zone. On the Tokaido Line, this corresponds to Hodogaya ward in the city of Yokohama because Hodogaya Station is 34.7km from Tokyo Station. On the Odakyu Line, this zone includes the city of Sagamihara and Sagami-Ono Station, which is 32.3km from Shinjuku Station.

Changes in population composition are shown in Figure 3 for Hodogaya ward and Figure 4 for Sagamihara.

Figure 3
Change in Population Composition: Hodogaya

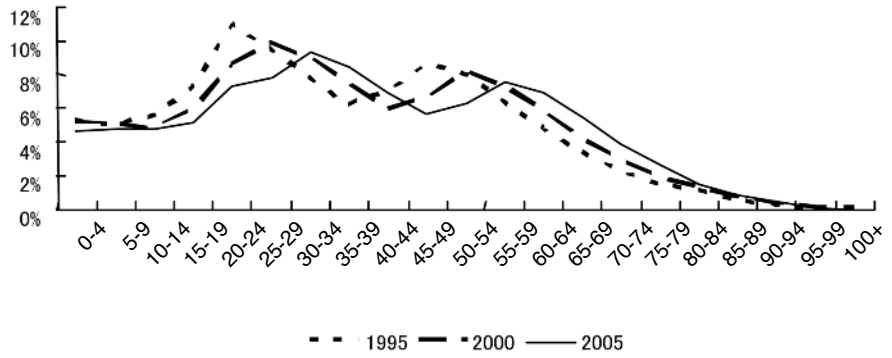


Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Figure 3 shows that Hodogaya ward has a large percentage of residents between the ages of 15 and 24. This is probably because several universities are located here. Apparently, though, people leave Hodogaya to find work. In 2005, the percentage of residents in their 30s was slightly higher than residents between 55 and 59, which corresponds to the first baby boom generation.

But this difference is small. The percentage of residents between 25 and 39 is not much higher in relation to the entire Tokyo area. The percentage for 30 to 39 is about the same, but the 35-39 age segment percentage is relatively high. The 40-44 percentage is comparatively high as well. High percentages for the 35 to 44 age group are probably the result of the existence of many workplaces that employ people of this age and of the construction of housing in this area when this age group was at the home-purchasing phase of their lives.

Figure 4
Change in Population Composition: Sagamihara



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

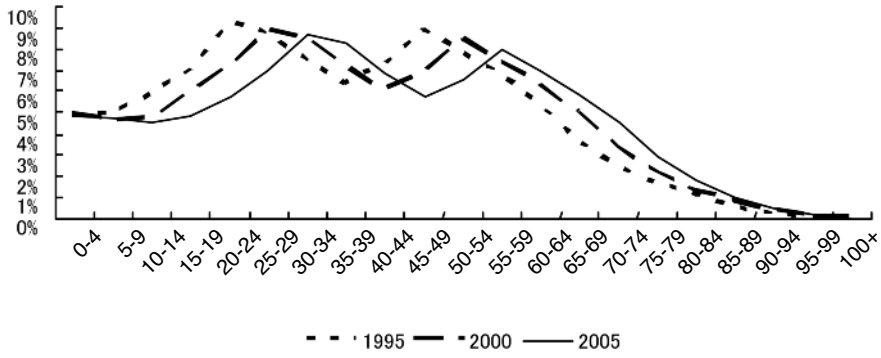
Figure 4 shows that Sagamihara has high percentages of residents between 15 and 24, probably because there are several universities in the city, just as in Hodogaya. Furthermore, just as in Hodogaya, it appears that these young people leave to find jobs elsewhere. Despite this migration, age segments between 20 and 44 account for a high percentage of the population. As a result, Sagamihara has a large percentage of young people, which matches the average for the entire Tokyo area.

As we have just explained, the population of the 30km-39km zone is characterized by a somewhat high percentage of university-student-age residents, due to the existence of many universities. But many of these students leave this zone immediately after graduation.

The 40km-49km zone includes Totsuka ward in the city of Yokohama and Totsuka Station, which is 40.9km from Tokyo Station. On the Odakyu Line, this zone includes the city of Atsugi and Atsugi Station, which is 45.4km from Shinjuku Station.

Changes in population composition are shown in Figure 5 for Totsuka ward and Figure 6 for Atsugi.

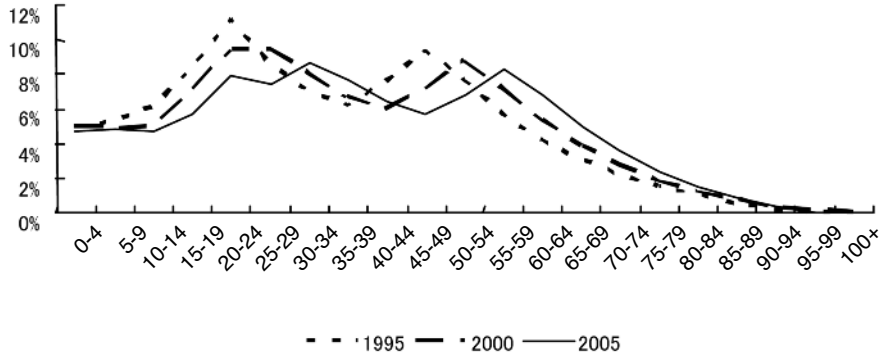
Figure 5
Change in Population Composition: Totsuka



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

In 2005, Totsuka had a fairly high percentage of residents in the 35-39 age segment. Just as in Hodogaya, the percentage for the 30-39 age segment was somewhat higher than for the 55-59 segment but the difference was small. This is most likely because there are no big changes in the university student generation and, while Totsuka is a bed town, there are many workplaces for people in their 30s. Hodogaya, which is adjacent to Totsuka, also has a large number of residents in their 30s. These figures demonstrate that Totsuka and Hodogaya are places where people who are now in their 30s purchased residences. Housing developments were started in Hodogaya first because it is closer to Tokyo than Totsuka. This explains why the 40-44 age segment percentage is higher in Hodogaya than in Totsuka.

Figure 6
Change in Population Composition: Atsugi



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

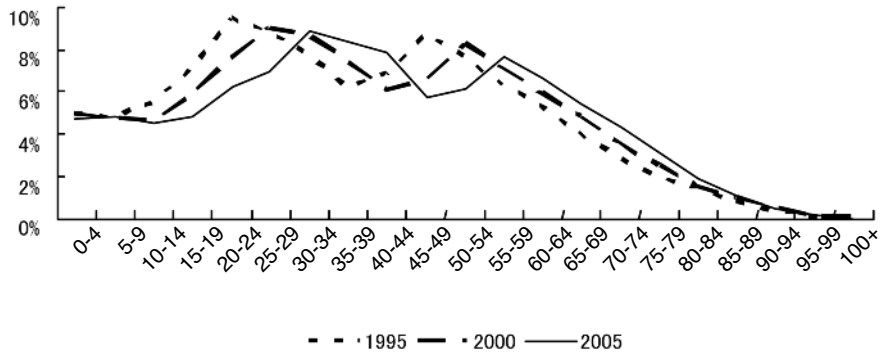
Figure 6 shows that Atsugi's population is also influenced by nearby universities. Moreover, just as in Sagamihara, students leave this area to find jobs. Although young

generations account for a relatively high percentage of Atsugi's population, this percentage is lower than in Hodogaya, Totsuka and Sagamihara.

There are locations within the 40km-49km zone that have a high percentage of young generations due to nearby universities. In general, however, the percentage of people between the ages of 25 and 49 is low because of the long distance from central Tokyo. Nevertheless, people of these ages are moving to this zone because of jobs are located here or to purchase a residence.

The 50km-59km zone includes the city of Fujisawa and Fujisawa Station, which is 50.1km from Tokyo Station. The composition of this city's population is shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7
Change in Population Composition: Fujisawa

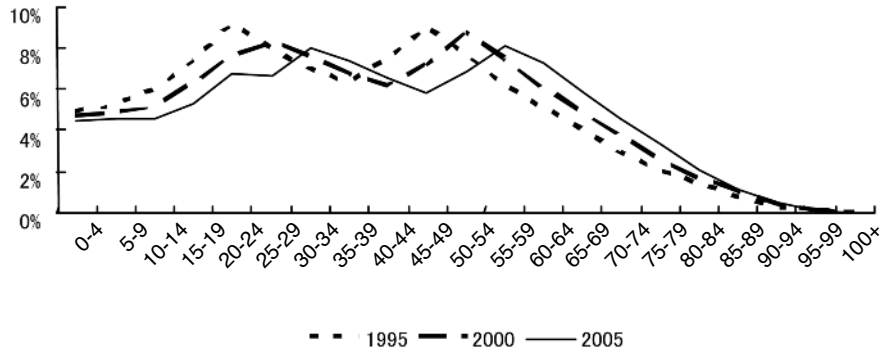


Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Since there are universities in Fujisawa, the city attracts the college student generation, but Figure 7 shows that the number of students is not significant. What stands out most of all is the very high percentage of residents between 30 and 44 as of 2005. This is the same as Hodogaya's population and similar to the population of Totsuka. One reason may be a large number of workplaces in Fujisawa that employ people in this age group. But since Fujisawa is conveniently situated within a one-hour train ride from Tokyo Station, the city is clearly an ideal home-buying location for people between 30 and 44.

The 60km-69km zone includes the city of Hiratsuka and Hiratsuka Station, which is 63.8km from Tokyo Station. On the Odakyu Line, this zone includes the city of Hadano and Hadano Station, which is 61.7km from Shinjuku Station.

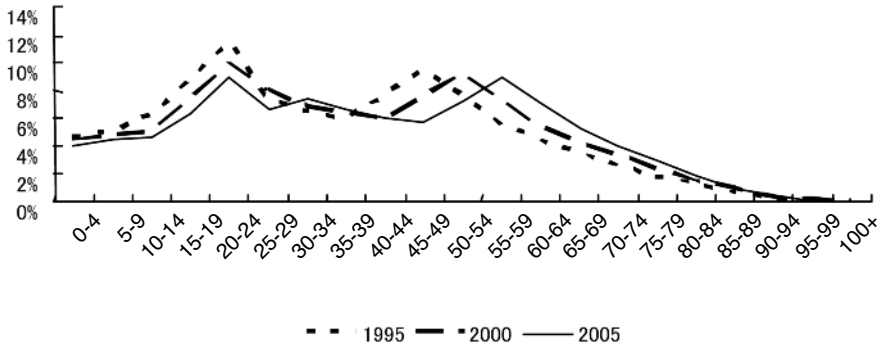
Figure 8
Change in Population Composition: Hiratsuka



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

As Figure 8 shows, there is also a high percentage of university-student-age residents in Hiratsuka because of the universities in this city. However, just as in Sagamihara and Atsugi, these students leave Hiratsuka after graduation to find work. In 2005, the percentages for the 30-34 and 55-59 age segments were almost the same. Although the percentage for young generations is somewhat high, this percentage is clearly decreasing as the distance from central Tokyo increases.

Figure 9
Change in Population Composition: Hadano



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

As in other locations in this study, Hadano's population is influenced by nearby universities, as can be seen in Figure 9. However, the effect on the population composition of these universities is by far the smallest of all the municipalities in this distance-based study. Although Hadano is in the Tokyo area, the percentage of young people other than university students is not high. In 2005, the 55-59 age segment had the highest percentage, which was near

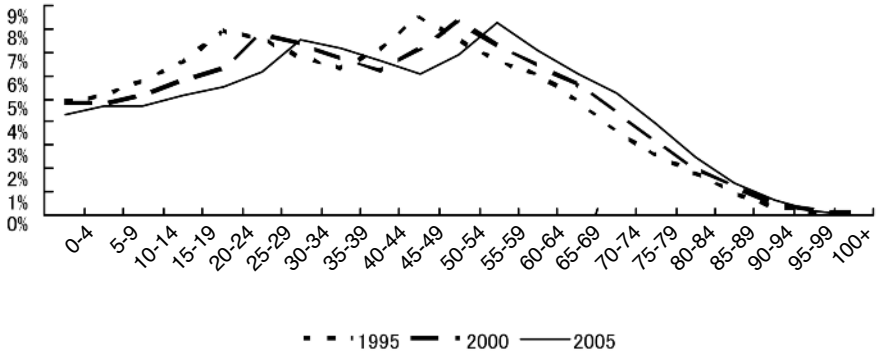
the national average for this segment.

In the 60km-69km zone, the population is influenced by nearby universities but the composition of the population is near the national average. Communities in this zone are no longer functioning primarily as bed towns because they are so far from central Tokyo.

Communities in the 70km-79km zone include Ninomiya-machi on the Tokaido Line and Matsuda-machi on the Odakyu Line. Both are classified as a "machi" rather than a city. Since there are no cities in this zone, no figures are shown.

The city of Odawara is in the 80km-89km zone. Odawara Station is 83.9km from Tokyo Station and 87.7km from Shinjuku Station. Changes in the composition of this city's population are shown in Figure 10.

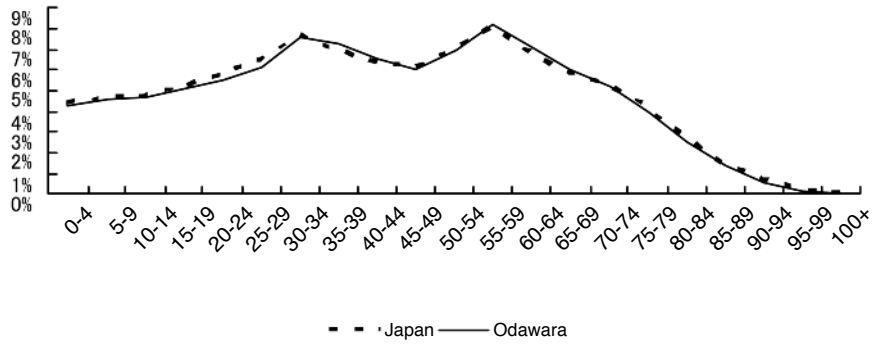
Figure 10
Change in Population Composition: Odawara



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Figure 10 shows that the 2005 population composition of Odawara has no changes in the university student generation or in the job-hunting age segment. Overall, the composition is similar to the national average, in which the 55-59 age segment has the highest percentage. Figure 11 shows how closely the age composition for Odawara and Japan coincide.

Figure 11
Population Composition by Age: Japan and Odawara

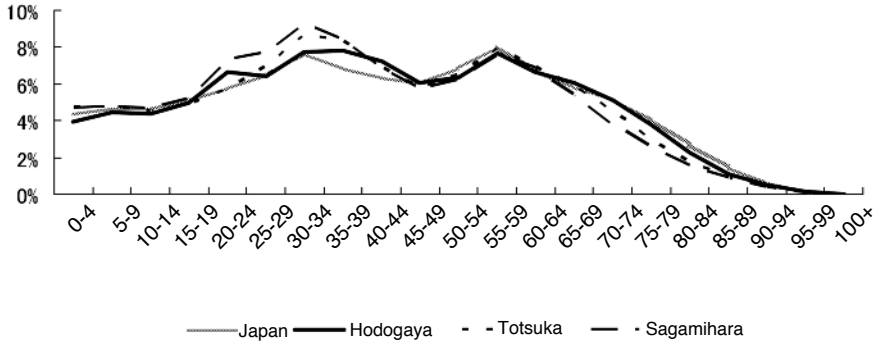


Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

As you can see, the two population composition lines are almost a perfect match. Odawara is obviously a city with a population that is about the same as the national average.

Next, we compared the composition of populations of the municipalities in this study that are 30km to 60km from central Tokyo with the national average. To identify distinguishing characteristics, we have presented data for the locations within 40km in Figure 12 and locations that are 40km or farther from central Tokyo in Figure 13.

Figure 12
Population Composition by Age: Japan and Municipalities within 40km

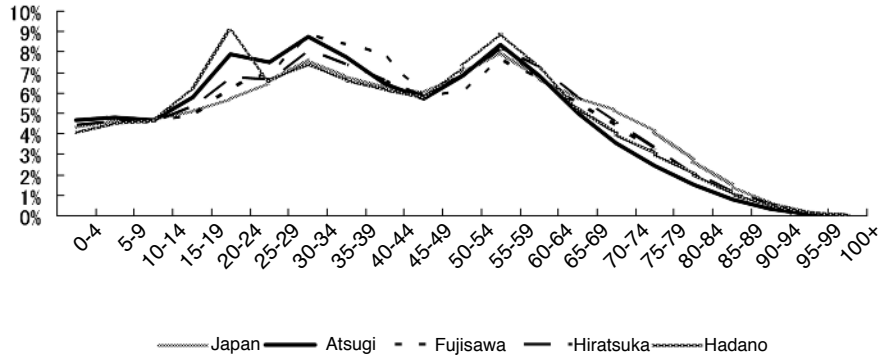


Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Data for Hodogaya and Sagamihara show the effect on their populations of nearby universities. However, the percentage of residents between the ages of 25 and 34 in Hodogaya is about the same as the national average. In the Metropolitan area, though, the percentage for this page group is much higher than the national average. Consequently, Hodogaya has a small

proportion of residents in the 25-34 group within the Metropolitan area. In Figure 12, Sagamihara has the highest percentage of residents in their 20s and 30s and Hodogaya ranks first for the 40 to 49 age group. The distribution of seniors indicates that development occurred first in Hodogaya, then Totsuka and finally Sagamihara.

Figure 13
Population Composition by Age: Japan and Municipalities Beyond 40km



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Figure 13 shows that populations in this zone are influenced by universities, but that this effect is the greatest along the Odakyu Line. In Atsugi and Fujisawa, there are high percentages of residents in their 20s and 30s because both cities are prime locations for suburban Tokyo business facilities. Furthermore, Fujisawa also has a high percentage of residents in the 40-44 age segment because of its easy access to central Tokyo. This gives Fujisawa the characteristics of a bed town for Tokyo. The characteristics of a bed town decline as the distance from central Tokyo increases. In Hadano, there are no longer bed town characteristics. Here, the 50-59 percentage is higher than the national average while the percentages age segments between 30 and 49 are below the average. In Hiratsuka, the 30-49 percentage is somewhat higher than the national average but still lower than in Fujisawa. At Hiratsuka's distance from central Tokyo, we can no longer expect an inflow of people seeking a bed town for Tokyo.

Looking at changes in population composition in relation to distance, there are many municipalities where the population is influenced by nearby universities. However, the magnitude of this influence increases along with the distance from central Tokyo. The reason is that graduates of these universities quickly leave these locations because there are few employment opportunities. In addition, the percentage of residents between the ages of 25 and 44, excluding university students, which is high in the Tokyo area, increases as the distance from central Tokyo decreases. But the Odakyu and Tokaido lines each have somewhat different changes in population composition.

Along the Odakyu Line, the percentage of the age group between 25 and 49 increases as the distance from central Tokyo decreases. Along the Tokaido Line, though, the percentage of the group between 25 and 34 is about the same as the national average in Hodogaya, which is relatively close to central Tokyo. This clearly differs from the population composition along the Odakyu Line. One reason may be the different timing of housing construction along these two lines. What these numbers tell us is that the share of the population above the age of 34 is affected by the time that construction of housing projects started. Naturally, housing construction began near central Tokyo and moved outward over the years. Because of this, the percentage of older age segments increases as the distance from central Tokyo decreases. As this distance increases, the percentage of older age segments declines slowly at first but then starts climbing again. The older age segment climbs farther out to bring this percentage back to the national average. This increase in the older age segment percentage signifies that the distance from central Tokyo has reached a point that is beyond the bed town zone for Tokyo.

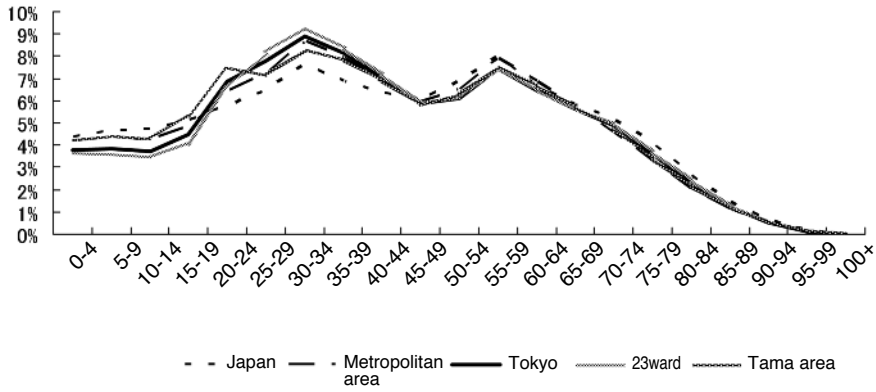
4. Studies of railway Corridors

We have explained that the Metropolitan area has a high percentage of residents between the ages of 20 and 44 and that this percentage increases as the distance from central Tokyo decreases. However, there are differences even within areas that are the same distance from central Tokyo. As we noted in chapter 3, there is a big difference in the population compositions of communities along the Tokaido and Odakyu lines. This is why our next subject is an examination of regional population statistics along major railway lines.

In chapter 3, we noted that the percentage of the 20-39 age group is much higher in the cities of Sagamihara and Atsugi on the Odakyu Line than along the Tokaido Line. We expanded the scope of our Odakyu Line study to include two more cities: Zama and Ebina. We then studied changes in the population composition and the number of workers per industry in this four-city region.

For Tokyo, before examining population statistics for individual railway lines, we compared the population composition of Tokyo's 23 wards and all other areas of Tokyo (Tama area). This is shown in Figure 14.

Figure 14
Population Composition in 2005



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

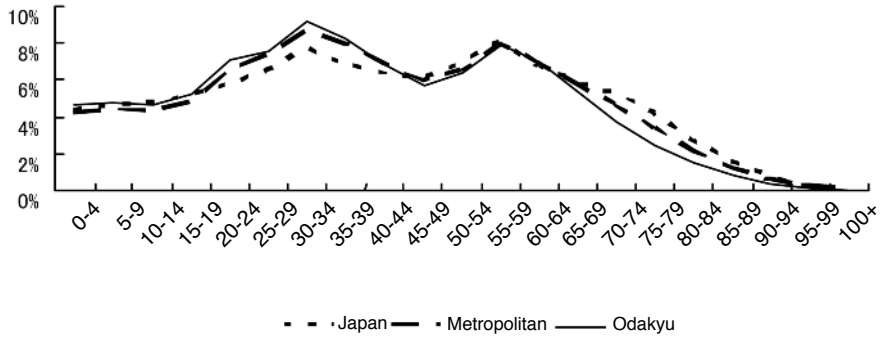
Figure 14 shows that the percentage of the population under the age of 20 is low in Tokyo even in relation to the Metropolitan area as a whole. And this percentage is particularly low in Tokyo's 23 wards. In Tama area, the under-age-20 segment percentage is about the same as in the Metropolitan area. There university-student-age percentage is extremely high in Tama area, probably the result of the large number of universities in this area. But these students leave this area to find jobs. This is the same trend as we saw in the municipalities with universities that were covered in chapter 3. But in the 23 wards, there is no decrease in the percentage of the 25-29 segment. In fact, the percentage for all age segments starting with this one are higher here than in Tama area.

Although Tama area has a high percentage of university-student-age residents, universities are not located evenly throughout this region of Tokyo outside the 23 wards. To examine this subject, we divided Tama area into five regions centered on different railway lines. Finally, we studied the Higashi-Katsushika region of Chiba prefecture, which is on the Joban Line.

4-1. Odakyu Line

We defined the Odakyu Line area as the region made up of the Kanagawa prefecture cities of Sagamihara, Zama, Ebina and Atsugi. These four cities had a combined population of 1,010,813 according to the 2005 National Census. As we noted in chapter 3, there is a high percentage of young people in the cities of Sagamihara and Atsugi. The population composition of the Odakyu Line area is shown in Figure 15.

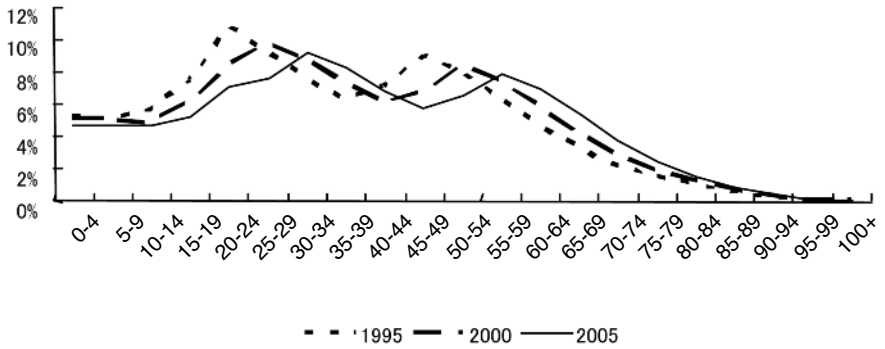
Figure 15
Population Composition in 2005 by Age: Odakyu



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

In the Odakyu Line area, the population percentage for ages 0 to 39 is higher than the Metropolitan area average, making this a section of the Metropolitan area with a large number of young people. But the percentages for the 50s and 60s are about the same as the Metropolitan area average and the percentages for 70s and higher are below the national average as well as the Metropolitan average. Because of its large number of universities, the Odakyu Line area has a higher percentage of university-age residents than the Metropolitan area average. The 15-19 age segment is 5.23% (4.81% for Metropolitan area) and the 20-24 segment is 7.12% (6.40% for Metropolitan area). Furthermore, university students leave this area to find work (25-29 segment: Odakyu area 7.60%, Metropolitan area 7.26%). Even so, the percentage for the 25-29 age segment is higher than the Metropolitan area average, indicating that there are jobs in this area for people under the age of 39. However, starting with the 40-44 age segment, the percentages in the Odakyu area are about the same as the Metropolitan area average. Clearly, this is not a very popular area for people who are looking for a house.

Figure 16
Change in Population Composition: Odakyu

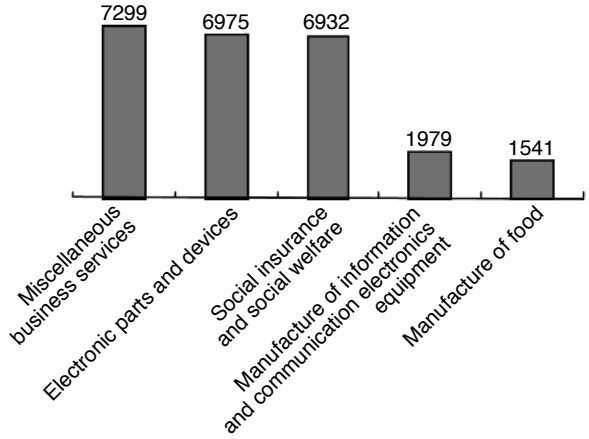


Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Changes in population composition shown in Figure 16 demonstrate that the Odakyu area is attracting many residents because of its universities. Other than the university-student-age segments, there are no age segments with notable inflows. As a result, we can conclude that the Odakyu area is probably attracting residents mainly as a bed town for Tokyo.

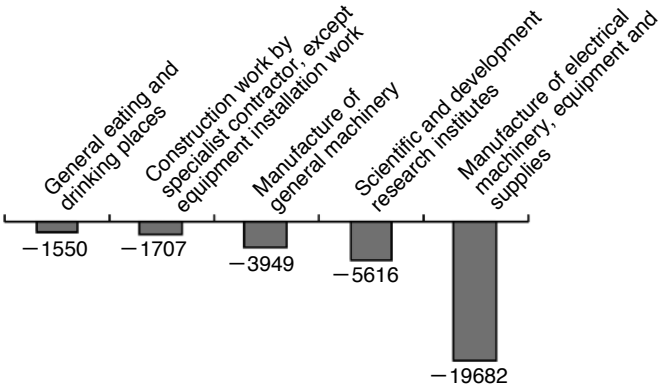
The next subject is the types of industries in this area that have grown and the industries that have disappeared. To identify these industries, we ranked the top five industries in terms of growth (Figure 17) and decline (Figure 18) in the number of employees at business sites in the Odakyu area between 2001 and 2006.

Figure 17
Top Five Growth in Employment (2001-2006)



Reference: Establishments and Company Statistics, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Figure 18
Top Five Declines in Employment (2001-2006)



Reference: Establishments and Company Statistics, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

In the Odakyu area, there was growth of about 7,000 in the workforces of three sectors: miscellaneous business services, electronic parts and devices, and social insurance and social welfare. Miscellaneous business services include temporary staffing. Consequently, these numbers reflect growth in the number of temporary workers caused by the shift in how companies employ workers and the growth of two sectors: electronic parts and devices, and social insurance and social welfare. Employment for electronic parts and devices is affected to the operations of business sites that already exist. Moreover, despite the high percentage of young people in the Odakyu area, the population here is steadily aging. This explains the growth in employment associated with social insurance and social welfare.

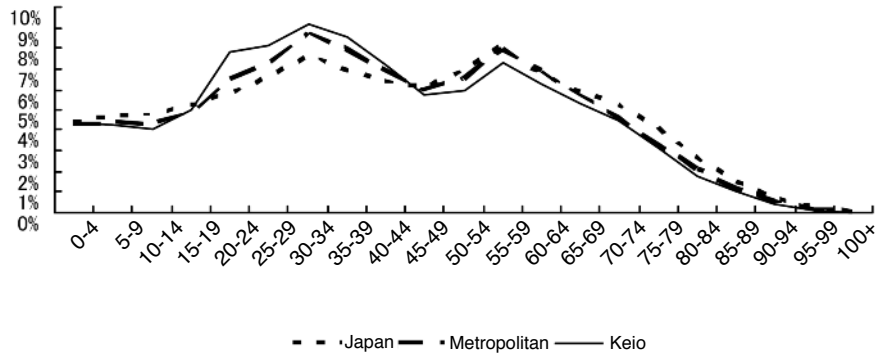
Sectors with big declines in employment include manufacture of general machinery, scientific and development research institutes, manufacture of electrical machinery, equipment and supplies and others. Posting the largest downturn was manufacture of electrical machinery, equipment and supplies, which lost about 20,000 jobs over five years in the Odakyu area. Factory closings and relocations to other areas were probably responsible for the loss of these jobs. In addition, employment in manufacture of general machinery fell by about 4,000, a reflection of the shift in the structure of Japan's industries. The scientific and development research institutes category lost 5,616 jobs.

These statistics show that the Odakyu area is one of the major manufacturing regions of the Metropolitan area. But the numbers also show that this area is no exception to the aging of Japan's population.

4-2. Keio Line

The Keio Line runs through the southern side of Tama area. For this region, we combined the cities of Chofu, Fuchu, Tama and Inagi along with the city of Komae, which is also on the Odakyu Line. According to the 2005 census, the combined population of these cities was 762,430. Figure 19 shows the population composition by age.

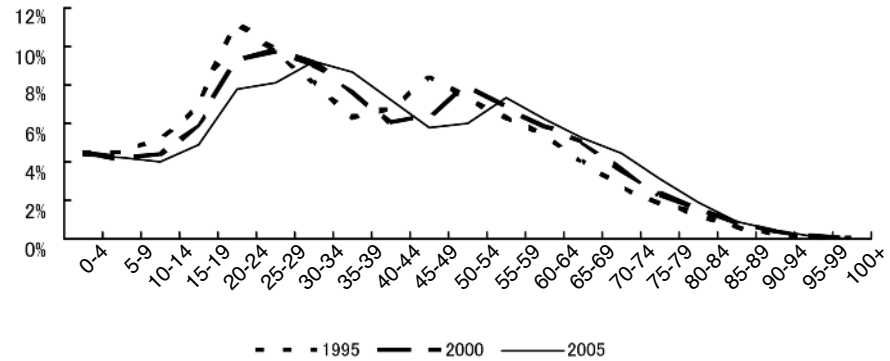
Figure 19
Population Composition in 2005 by Age: Keio



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

In the Keio area, the percentage of all age segments between 15 and 44 are higher than the Metropolitan area average. Therefore, just as for the Odakyu area, this is a region with a large number of young people. Percentages for age segments starting at 45-49 are below the Metropolitan area average. Most significantly, the percentage for the 55-59 age segment, which is the highest for all of Japan, is far below the Metropolitan area average. Furthermore, perhaps because of universities in the Keio area, the percentage for the 20-24 segment is 7.80%, which is much higher than the Metropolitan area average of 6.40%. And in this area too, there is a tendency for university students to leave after graduation to find work. Nevertheless, the percentage for the group between ages 25 and 39 is higher than the Metropolitan area average, indicating that the Keio area is a popular area for recent graduates to live after finding work. The percentage for age segments between 35 and 44 is higher than the Metropolitan area average, too. Again, this demonstrates the appeal of the Keio area as a place to live. Figure 20 shows how the population composition has changed over the years.

Figure 20
Change in Population Composition: Keio



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

The change in population composition shows that the Keio area attracts a large number of university students but also maintains a high population percentage for all age segments from 25 to 44. These percentages are evidence that the area is also appealing as a bed town for people who work in central Tokyo.

Table 1 shows where people living in the Keio area go to school or work.

Table 1

Number of student/worker commuters	407,297
Schools/businesses within Keio area	181,274
Schools/businesses in other areas	226,023
Tokyo 23 wards	145,101
Chuo Line	28,242
Kanagawa prefecture	21,098
Hachioji/Machida	18,187
Saitama prefecture	3,780
Seibu Line	3,581
Ome-Itsukaichi Line	2,627
Chiba prefecture	1,505
Yamanashi prefecture	301

Reference: National Census (2005), Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

The number of workers and students commuting to locations outside the Keio area is about 40,000 more than the number traveling to work and schools within the area. Approximately two-thirds of the people going to jobs and schools outside the area commute to Tokyo's 23 wards. However, about 36,000 more residents commute to a workplace or school within the Keio area than the number that go to the 23 wards.

Table 2 presents data on changes in job and school commuters between 1995 and 2005.

Table 2

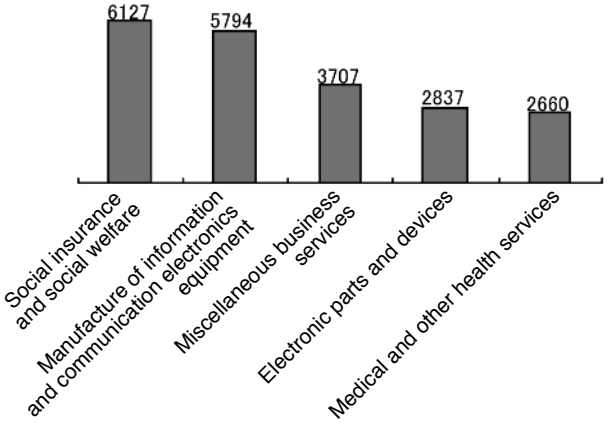
Number of student/worker commuters	8,716
Schools/businesses within Keio area	25,516
Schools/businesses in other areas	-16,800
Tokyo 23 wards	-11,693
Hachioji/Machida	-2,629
Kanagawa prefecture	-1,201
Chuo Line	-1,000
Seibu Line	-319
Chiba prefecture	-221
Yamanashi prefecture	-104
Saitama prefecture	62
Ome-Itsukaichi Line	212

Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication

Table 2 shows that the number of residents commuting to work or school within the Keio area increased while the number of people leaving the area decreased. Tokyo's 23 wards had the largest decline while only Saitama prefecture and the Ome-Itsukaichi Line recorded increases. These figures show that there was an increase in the number of people headed in the opposite direction of central Tokyo.

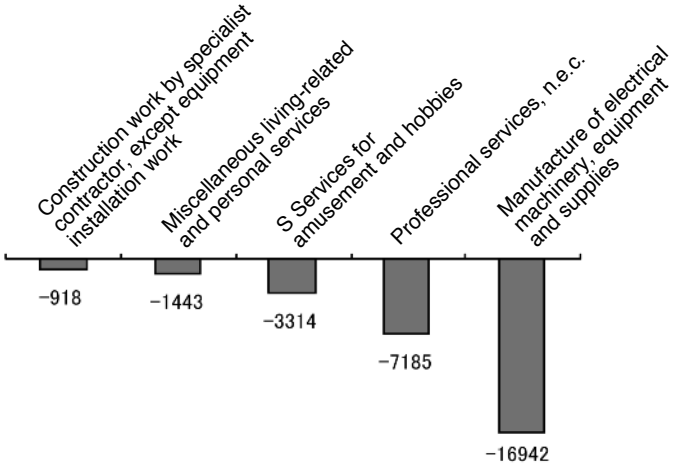
We know that more residents are staying within the Keio area for work or study. But this leads to the question of which industries are growing and declining in this area. We compiled data on changes in employment between 2001 and 2006 at business sites in the region. The five industries with the largest increases and decreases in employment are shown in the Figures 21 and 22.

Figure 21
Top Five Growth in Employment (2001-2006)



Reference: Establishments and Company Statistics, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Figure 22
Top Five Declines in Employment (2001-2006)



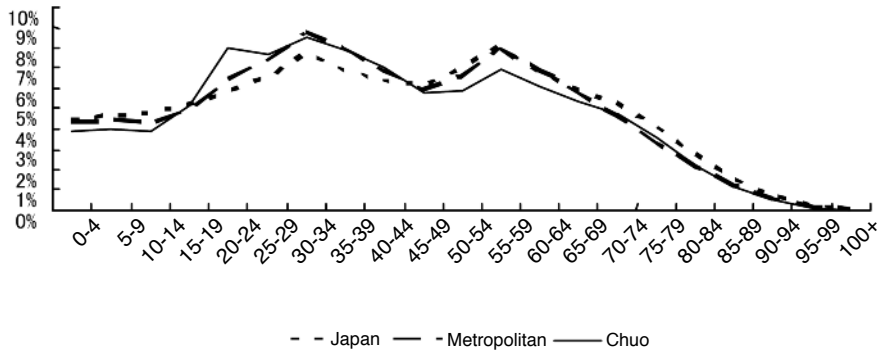
Reference: Establishments and Company Statistics, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

The largest increases are in the social insurance and social welfare sector and the manufacture of information and communication electronics equipment sector. Aging of the area's population is progressing even though there is a large number of young people. This is why the social insurance and social welfare sector had the largest growth in employment. The top three declines are in the services for amusement and hobbies, professional services, n.e.c. and manufacture of electrical machinery, equipment and supplies sectors. Changes in the operations of companies in the Keio area are responsible for the increase in the manufacture of information and communication electronics equipment sector and the decrease in the manufacture of electrical machinery, equipment and supplies sector. In other words, the changes in employment reflect both the performance of manufacturers within the area and social changes within the area, notably the aging population.

4-3. Chuo Line

The JR Chuo Line runs from the center of Tama area to the eastern part of Tama area. For this region, we used an area made up of seven cities: Musashino, Mitaka, Koganei, Kokubunji, Kunitachi, Tachikawa and Hino. According to the 2005 census, these cities had a combined population of 968,028. Figure 23 shows a comparison of the population compositions of Japan, the Tokyo area and Chuo area.

Figure 23
Population Composition in 2005: Chuo



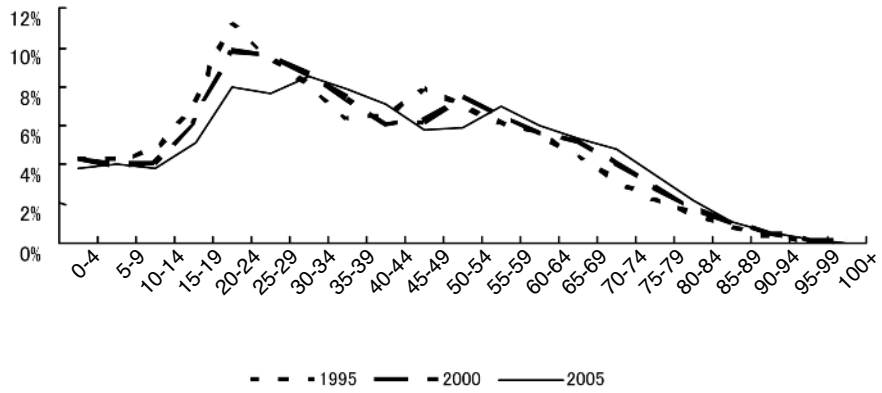
Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Figure 23 shows that the Chuo area has a higher percentage of residents between the ages of 15 and 29 than the average for the Metropolitan area. This demonstrates that this is an area with a large number of young people. Furthermore, the percentage for age segments starting at 70 is also higher than the Metropolitan area average. Consequently, this area has an unexpectedly old population compared with other parts of the Metropolitan area. Age segments between 30 and 49 are about the same as the Metropolitan area average and segments between 50 and 69 are below the average. In addition, the Chuo area's population is influenced by universities.

This explains why the 20-24 percentage of 7.99% is much higher than the Metropolitan area average of 6.40%. Since university graduates leave this area to start their careers, the percentages generally match the Metropolitan area average for age segments starting at age 30. However, the percentage for 50-69 age segments is below the Metropolitan area average while the percentage for even higher age segments is above the average. These numbers demonstrate that housing was constructed in Chuo earlier than in many other parts of the Metropolitan area. Overall, this is an area with a high share of younger generations as is shown in the above-average percentages for the 30 to 49 age group and the below-average percentages for the 50 to 69 are group compared with the Metropolitan area averages.

The change in the composition of the Chuo area's population is shown I Figure 24.

Figure 24
Change in Population Composition: Chuo



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

As you can see in Figure 24, this area has a large number of university students. Significantly, the difference between the 30-34 percentage (8.51%) and the 20-24 percentage (7.99%) is smaller than in the Odakyu Line and Keio areas. This is evidence that the Chuo area attracts more university students than these other two areas do.

Table 3 presents data on where residents of the Chuo area work and attend school.

Table 3

Number of student/worker commuters	513,642
Schools/businesses within Chuo area	233,462
Schools/businesses in other areas	280,180
Tokyo 23 wards	166,722
Keio Line	28,167
Hachioji/Machida	27,922
Seibu Line	19,602
Ome-Itsukaichi Line	14,185
Kanagawa prefecture	10,850
Saitama prefecture	7,548
Chiba prefecture	2,249
Yamanashi prefecture	630

Reference: National Census (2005), Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication

About 50,000 more Chuo area residents leave the area for work or school than the number that remain within this area. Approximately 60% of the people who leave the area work or attend school in Tokyo's 23 wards. However, about 67,000 more people work or study within the Chuo area than the number that go to the 23 wards.

The next subject is changes in the number of people who travel to work or school between 1995 and 2005.

Table 4

Number of student/worker commuters	-2,409
Schools/businesses within Chuo area	33,506
Schools/businesses in other areas	-35,915
Tokyo 23 wards	-27,711
Seibu Line	-2,938
Keio Line	-2,525
Hachioji/Machida	-1,958
Kanagawa prefecture	-640
Saitama prefecture	-487
Chiba prefecture	-229
Yamanashi prefecture	-167
Ome-Itsukaichi Line	370

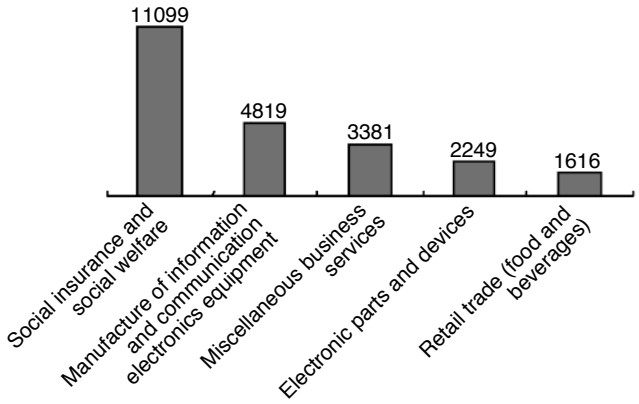
Reference: National Census (2005), Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication

Despite the decline in the number of Chuo residents commuting to work or school, there was a big increase in the number of commuters within this area. At the same time, the number of people commuting to locations outside the area fell by about 36,000. Tokyo's 23 wards had

the largest decline. Commuters going to the Ome-Itsukaichi Line increased, too, just as for the number of commuters in the Keio area.

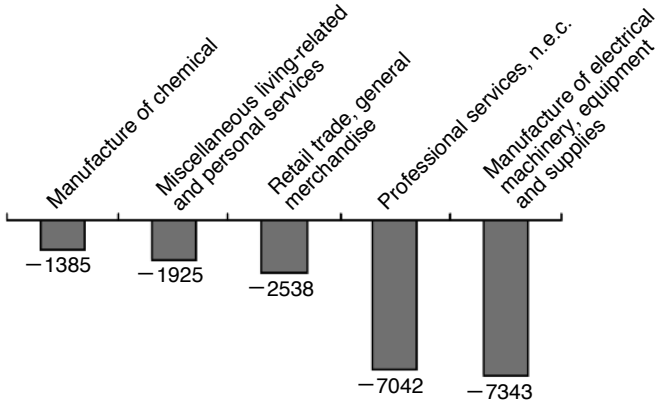
The survey revealed that the number of worker and student commuters increased within the Chuo area. Next, we collected data on changes in the number of employees at business sites within this area between 2001 and 2006 to identify which industries are growing and shrinking. The top five growth industries are listed in Figure 25 and the top five declines are listed in Figure 26.

Figure 25
Top Five Growth in Employment (2001-2006)



Reference: Establishments and Company Statistics, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Figure 26
Top Five Declines in Employment (2001-2006)



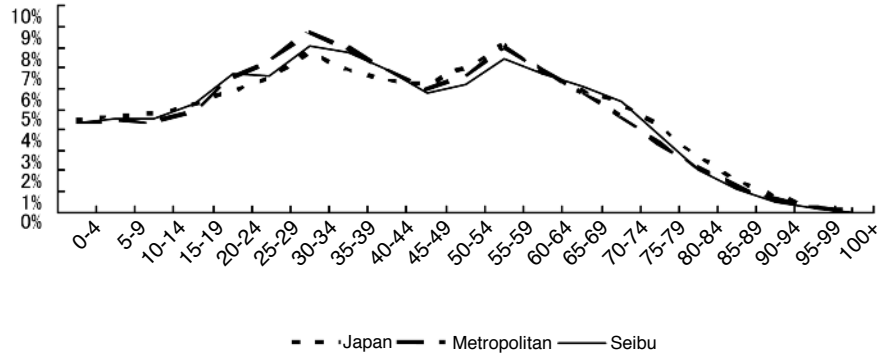
Reference: Establishments and Company Statistics, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

The top two growth sectors for employment are social insurance and social welfare and manufacture of information and communication electronics equipment. While the Chuo area has a large number of younger people, the number-one ranking of social insurance and social welfare reflects the aging of the area's population. Manufacture of electrical machinery, equipment and supplies, professional services, n.e.c. and retail trade, general merchandise recorded the biggest declines because of the performance of companies located in the Chuo area. Just as in the Keio area, changes in the number of jobs are linked to both the performance of local manufacturers and social trends, particularly an aging population.

4-4. Seibu Line

For the Seibu area, we used an area made up of seven cities. There are three cities on the Seibu Ikebukuro Line, which runs across the northern edge of Tama area: Nishi-Tokyo, Higashi-Kurume and Kiyose. The other four cities are on the Seibu Shinjuku and Haijima lines: Kodaira, Higashi-Murayama, Higashi-Yamato and Musashi-Murayama. According to the 2005 census, these cities had a combined population of 853,225. Figure 27 shows the population composition by age of the Seibu area.

Figure 27
Population Composition in 2005 by Age: Seibu

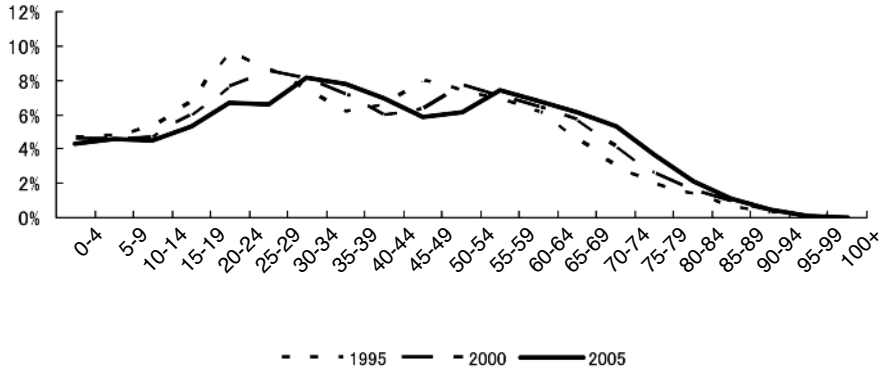


Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

As Figure 27 shows, the percentages of the Seibu area's population between the ages of 0 and 24 and age 60 or higher are both above the Metropolitan area average. Clearly, this is a region that is aging faster than the Metropolitan area average. The Seibu area attracts university students to some degree but they leave after graduation. This is why the percentage for age segments between 25 and 49 are below the Metropolitan area average. Furthermore, percentages for age segments between 50 and 64 are also below the Metropolitan area average. All higher age segments have percentages that are above the Metropolitan area average. These statistics show that housing was constructed in this area before many other parts of the Metropolitan area. Even so, percentages for age segments between 35 and 49 are about the same as the Metropolitan

area average, demonstrating that Seibu area is attractive as a place to buy a house. Figure 28 shows changes in the composition of the Seibu area's population.

Figure 28
Change in Population Composition: Seibu



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

In Figure 28, you can see that the Seibu area attracts university students. The difference in 2005 between the 30-34 percentage (8.51%) and 20-24 percentage (7.99%) is smaller than in the Odakyu and Keio areas. This shows that the Seibu area is attracting a larger number of residents who come to attend universities.

Table 5 presents statistics about the number of Seibu area residents who commute to work or school.

Table 5

Number of student/worker commuters	444,486
Schools/businesses within Seibu area	196,356
Schools/businesses in other areas	248,130
Tokyo 23 wards	144,046
Chuo Line	44,135
Saitama prefecture	25,692
Ome-Itsukaichi Line	9,569
Keio Line	7,714
Hachioji/Machida	7,020
Kanagawa prefecture	4,904
Chiba prefecture	1,716
Yamanashi prefecture	249

Reference: National Census (2005), Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication

As shown in Table 5, the number of residents who commute to a job or school outside the Seibu area is about 50,000 more than the number going to a job or school within this area. Of the commuters going outside the area, about 60% go to the 23 wards of Tokyo. But the number of workers and students who commute within the Seibu area is approximately 50,000 more than the number going to the 23 wards.

Table 6 presents data on changes between 1995 and 2005 in commuters going to work or school.

Table 6

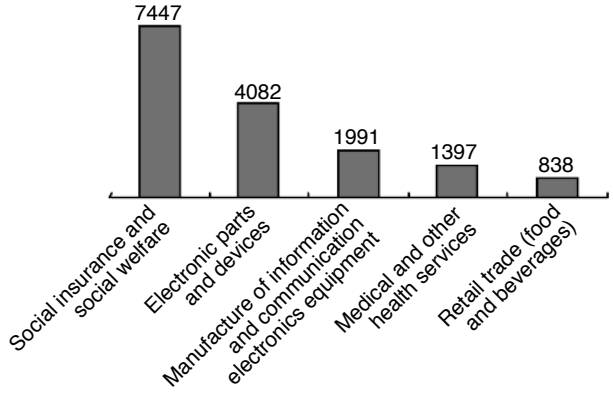
Number of student/worker commuters	6,306
Schools/businesses within Seibu area	31,040
Schools/businesses in other areas	-24,734
Tokyo 23 wards	-21,933
Ome-Itsukaichi Line	-1,648
Chuo Line	-1,433
Keio Line	-505
Saitama prefecture	-292
Hachioji/Machida	-234
Chiba prefecture	-217
Kanagawa prefecture	-24
Yamanashi prefecture	-7

Reference: National Census (2005), Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication

There was a large increase in the number of worker and student commuters within the Seibu area and a decrease of about 24,000 in the number of these commuters going to other areas. All areas outside the Seibu area posted declines with Tokyo's 23 wards having the largest drop in commuters from the Seibu area.

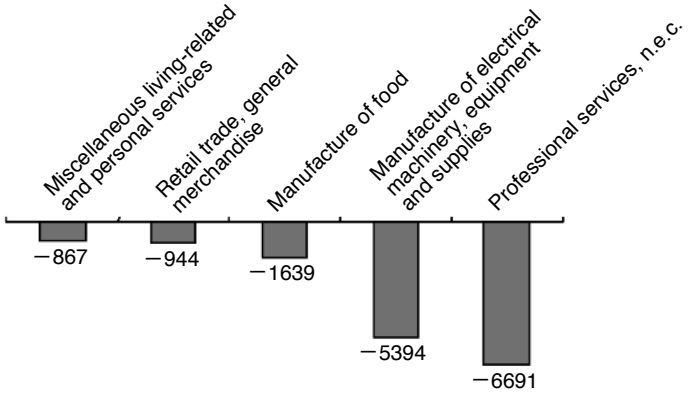
We have determined that the number of commuters within the Seibu area is increasing. We next gathered data on changes in employment at business sites in this area to identify industries that are growing and declining. Figure 29 lists the top five industries for workforce growth and Figure 30 lists the top five for declines.

Figure 29
Top Five Growth in Employment (2001-2006)



Reference: Establishments and Company Statistics, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Figure 30
Top Five Declines in Employment (2001-2006)



Reference: Establishments and Company Statistics, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

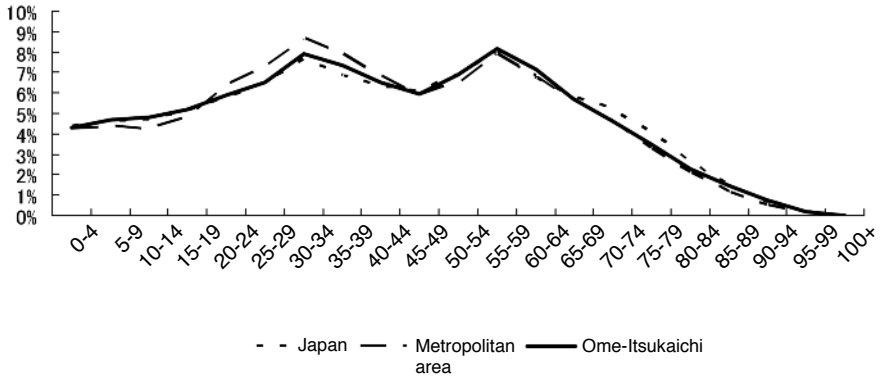
Social insurance and social welfare, electronic parts and devices, and manufacture of information and communication electronics equipment are the top three for job growth. Social insurance and social welfare ranks first because of the aging population. The largest declines are in the professional services, n.e.c., manufacture of electrical machinery, equipment and supplies and manufacture of food categories. Increases in employment in electronic parts and devices and manufacture of information and communication electronics equipment and the decrease in manufacture of electrical machinery, equipment and supplies are all reflections of

the performance of companies in the Seibu area. As in the Keio and Chuo areas, changes in employment are attributable to both the performance of local manufacturers and social trends such as the increasing number of seniors.

4-5. Ome Line-Itsukaichi Line

The Ome-Itsukaichi region of this study has six municipalities. The JR Ome Line, which is in western Tama area, serves the cities of Akishima, Fussa, Hamura and Ome. On the JR Itsukaichi Line, we have included the city of Akiruno and the municipality of Nishitama. The population of this region was 508,975 in 2005. Figure 31 shows the age distribution of the population.

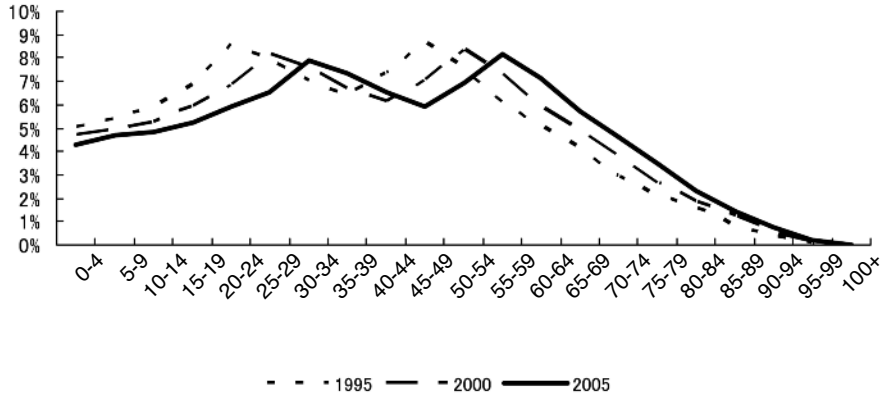
Figure 31
Population Composition in 2005 by Age: Ome-Itsukaichi



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

The population composition of Ome-Itsukaichi is closer to the national average than the average for the Metropolitan area. Age segments between 0 and 10 and all age segments above 50 have percentages that are above the Metropolitan area average. The long distance from central Tokyo prevents people from moving to this area. But since this area is within commuting range, people with jobs in central Tokyo do not have to leave. Figure 32 shows how the population composition has changed.

Figure 32
Change in Population Composition: Ome-Itsukaichi



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

The population of the Ome-Itsukaichi area has no noteworthy characteristics other than somewhat high percentages for age segments between 30 and 39. Unlike in other areas in this study, very few university students do not come to this area because there are almost no universities. However, as we noted earlier, there is no outflow of people because the area is within commuting distance to central Tokyo and other locations.

Table 7 presents figures on residents of this area who commute to work or school.

Table 7

Number of student/worker commuters	273,342
Schools/businesses within Ome-Itsukaichi area	171,673
Schools/businesses in other areas	101,669
Chuo Line	30,569
Tokyo 23 wards	26,903
Hachioji/Machida	14,221
Seibu Line	11,694
Saitama prefecture	7,555
Keio Line	5,747
Kanagawa prefecture	3,304
Chiba prefecture	409
Yamanashi prefecture	298

Reference: National Census (2005), Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication

As Table 7 shows, about 70,000 more residents commute to work or school within the Ome-Itsukaichi area than commute to work or school outside this area. The Chuo Line is the primary destination rather than the 23 wards of Tokyo. Consequently, while this area functions as a bed town for commuters to central Tokyo, there is an economic zone in this region that is separate from central Tokyo. However, the 23 wards are still a significant destination, accounting for about one-fourth of worker and student commuters leaving the Ome-Itsukaichi area.

The change in the number of commuters from 1995 to 2005 is presented in Table 8.

Table 8

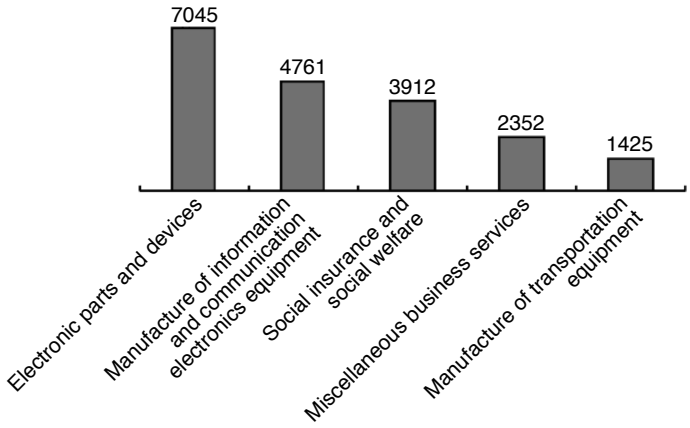
Number of student/worker commuters	7,534
Schools/businesses within Ome-Itsukaichi area	19,213
Schools/businesses in other areas	-11,679
Chuo Line	-5,523
Tokyo 23 wards	-4,447
Seibu Line	-2,897
Keio Line	-1,397
Yamanashi prefecture	-64
Chiba prefecture	-51
Kanagawa prefecture	215
Hachioji/Machida	631
Saitama prefecture	1,306

Reference: National Census (2005), Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication

There was an increase in the number of student/worker commuters living in the Ome-Itsukaichi area and an even larger increase in the number of commuters going to jobs and schools within the area. The number of residents going to jobs and schools outside the area was down by more than 10,000. Accounting for the largest portion of this decrease was the Chuo Line rather than Tokyo's 23 wards. Despite this decrease, Saitama prefecture, Hachioji/Machida and Kanagawa prefecture all posted increases. These numbers demonstrate that east-west movement is declining while more people are commuting on a north-south axis.

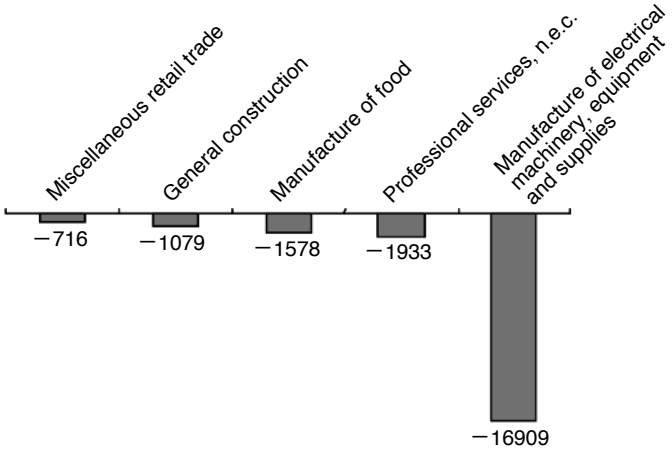
We know that the number of worker and student commuters is increasing within the Ome-Itsukaichi area. To identify industries that are growing and declining in this area, we gathered data on changes in employment at business sites between 2001 and 2006. Figure 33 lists the top five industries for workforce growth and Figure 34 lists the top five for declines.

Figure 33
Top Five Growth in Employment (2001-2006)



Reference: Establishments and Company Statistics, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Figure 34
Top Five Declines in Employment (2001-2006)



Reference: Establishments and Company Statistics, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

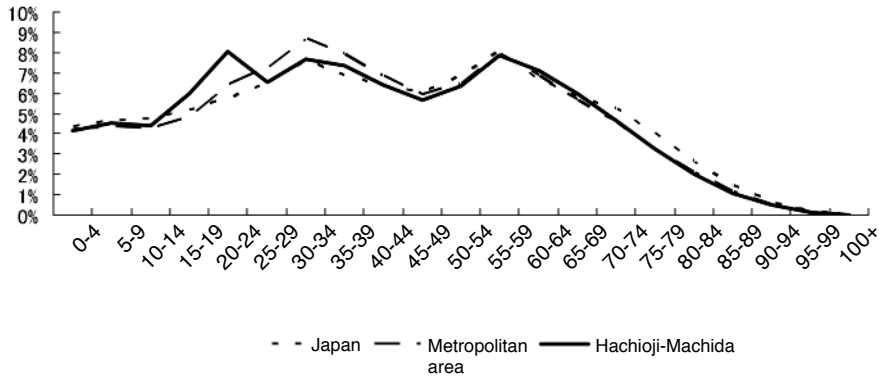
The top three industries with growth in employment were electronic parts and devices, manufacture of information and communication electronics equipment, and social insurance and social welfare. The increase in employment in social insurance and social welfare in these areas reflect the aging population. The largest declines were in manufacture of electrical machinery, equipment and supplies, professional services, n.e.c. and manufacture of food.

Increases in electronic parts and devices and manufacture of information and communication electronics equipment and the decrease in manufacture of electrical machinery, equipment and supplies are attributable to the performance of companies in the Ome-Itsukaichi area. Consequently, just as in other areas in this study, changes in the workforce are a reflection of the performance of manufacturers in the Ome-Itsukaichi area as well as social trends, notably the aging population.

4-6. Hachioji-Machida

We combined the city of Hachioji, which is in western Tama area, and the city of Machida, which is on the south side of Tokyo, into a single area called Hachioji-Machida. According to the 2005 census, the population of this area was 965,546. The composition of the population by age is shown in Figure 35.

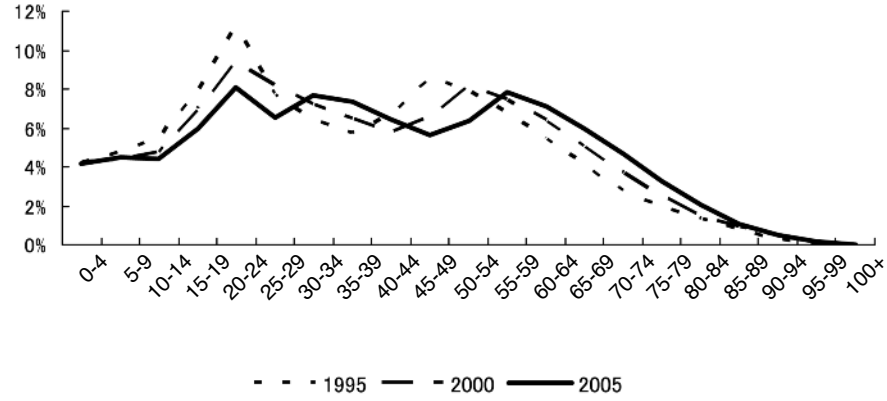
Figure 35
Population Composition in 2005 by Age: Hachioji-Machida



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

The percentages for age segments between 5 and 24 are all higher than the Metropolitan area average. Percentages are particularly high for the university student age segments because of the universities in this area. The share of the population between 60 and 69 is also higher than the Metropolitan area average. However, although the Metropolitan area percentages are high for age segments between 25 and 34, the percentages for these two segments are below this average in the Hachioji-Machida area and about the same as the national average. In addition to its very low level for the 24-34 age group, the Hachioji-Machida is below the Metropolitan area average for all age segments between 35 and 54. We believe these numbers are an indication that the Hachioji-Machida area is not a desirable place for people to live or purchase a home following graduation from a university.

Figure 36
Change in Population Composition: Hachioji-Machida



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

The change in the population shown in Figure 36 shows that this area is attracting university students. But more students leave this area to find jobs than in the other areas in this study. Another notable feature of the population composition is the higher percentage in 2005 for the 55-59 age segment. This shows that this area was developed many years ago as a bed town for commuters to central Tokyo.

A breakdown of the residents of this area who commute to work or school is shown in Table 9.

Table 9

Number of student/worker commuters	515,903
Schools/businesses within Hachioji-Machida area	269,642
Schools/businesses in other areas	246,261
Tokyo 23 wards	96,601
Kanagawa prefecture	69,241
Chuo Line	33,604
Keio Line	26,875
Ome-Itsukaichi Line	8,323
Seibu Line	3,509
Saitama prefecture	3,307
Yamanashi prefecture	1,537
Chiba prefecture	1,262

Reference: National Census (2005), Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication

Just as in the Ome-Itsukaichi area, more people commute to work or school within the area. About 23,000 more residents commute to locations within the Hachioji-Machida area than to locations in other areas. Tokyo's 23 wards is the largest external destination, accounting for about 40% of all student and worker commuters leaving the Hachioji-Machida area. Consequently, this area has the characteristics of a bed town for commuters to central Tokyo but also has created its own economic zone, just as in the Ome-Itsukaichi area. However, the Hachioji-Machida area functions more as a bed town for central Tokyo commuters than the Ome-Itsukaichi area does.

The change in the number of commuters from 1995 to 2005 is presented in Table 10.

Table 10

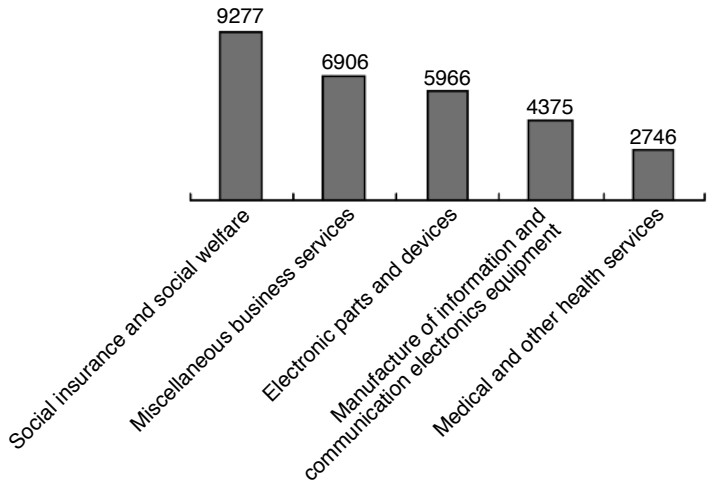
Number of student/worker commuters	32,479
Schools/businesses within Hachioji-Machida area	38,549
Schools/businesses in other areas	-6,070
Tokyo 23 wards	-8,927
Chuo Line	-2,096
Seibu Line	-240
Yamanashi prefecture	-172
Chiba prefecture	1
Saitama prefecture	310
Ome-Itsukaichi Line	797
Keio Line	1,075
Kanagawa prefecture	2,839

Reference: National Census (2005), Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication

The number of student/worker commuters living in the Hachioji-Machida area has increased and the number of these residents commuting within the area increased even more. Commuters leaving the area were down by about 6,000 with the 23 wards of Tokyo falling by almost 9,000. But there were increases in commuters going to work or schools in Kanagawa prefecture, the Keio area, the Ome-Itsukaichi area and Saitama prefecture. Therefore, the number of people going to central Tokyo is declining while the number of people going to other suburban areas is climbing.

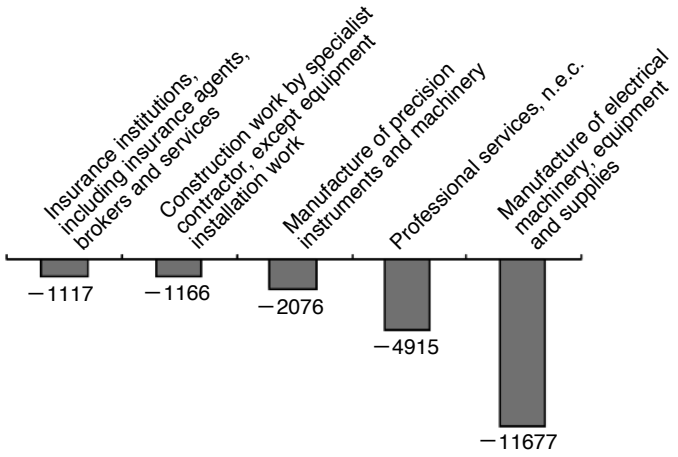
We have confirmed that the number of people commuting to work or school within the Hachioji-Machida area is increasing. Next, we examined data on changes in employment between 2001 and 2006 to determine which industries are growing and shrinking in this area. The top five increases are shown in Figure 37 and the top five decreases are shown in Figure 38.

Figure 37
Top Five Growth in Employment (2001-2006)



Reference: Establishments and Company Statistics, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Figure 38
Top Five Declines in Employment (2001-2006)



Reference: Establishments and Company Statistics, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

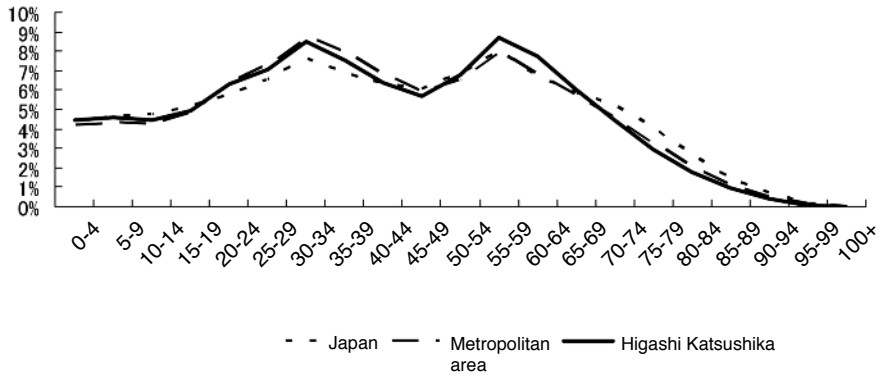
Social insurance and social welfare, electronic parts and devices, and manufacture of information and communication electronics equipment all posted increases in employment. The

largest increase was in social insurance and social welfare, a reflection of Japan's aging population. The three largest declines were manufacture of electrical machinery, equipment and supplies, professional services, n.e.c. and manufacture of precision instruments and machinery. Performance of companies in the area was responsible for the growth in employment in electronic parts and devices and manufacture of information and communication electronics equipment and the decrease in employment in manufacture of electrical machinery, equipment and supplies. Again, just as in other areas of in this study, changes in employment in the Hachioji-Machida area are attributable to both the performance of local manufacturers and social trends like the aging population.

4-7. Joban Line

For the Joban Line area (the Higashi Katsushika district), we used cities on two railway lines. On the Joban Line, we selected the cities of Matsudo, Kashiwa and Abiko in Chiba prefecture. On the Tobu Noda Line, which connects with the Joban Line, we selected the cities of Nagareyama, Noda and Kamagaya, also in Chiba prefecture. The composition of this area's population by age is shown in Figure 39.

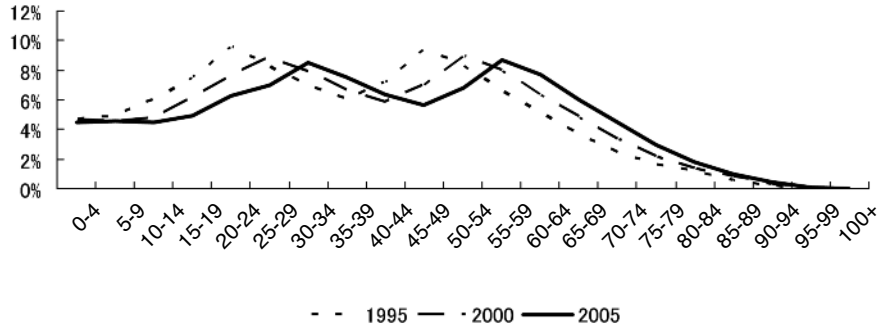
Figure 39
Population Composition in 2005 by Age: Higashi Katsushika



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

The population of Higashi Katsushika generally mirrors the Metropolitan area average for age segments up to 34. Percentages between ages 45 and 49 are below the Metropolitan area average and percentages for the 50s and 60s are much higher than the Metropolitan area average. Clearly, this is an area that is about to enter a period of having a large senior population ahead of the rest of the Metropolitan area. Figure 40 shows how the population composition has changed.

Figure 40
Change in Population Composition: Higashi Katsushika

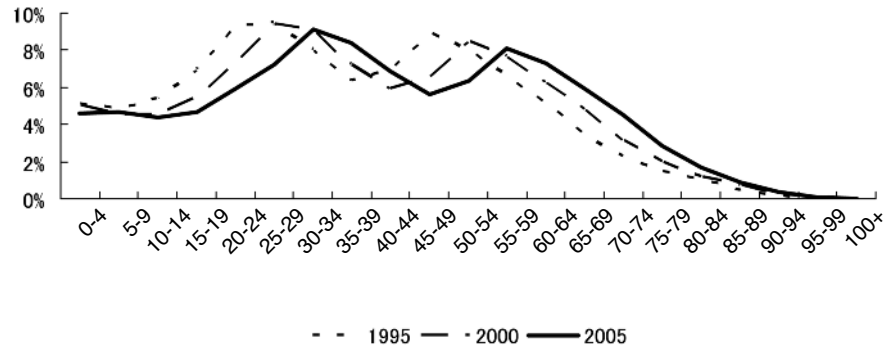


Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Looking at changes in the population, the only noteworthy characteristic is the somewhat high percentage of residents in their 30s. Unlike the other areas in this study, except the Ome-Itsukaichi area, there are not many university students because of the small number of universities in the Higashi Katsushika area. However, as we noted earlier, there is no outflow of people either because Higashi Katsushika is within commuting distance of central Tokyo and other areas.

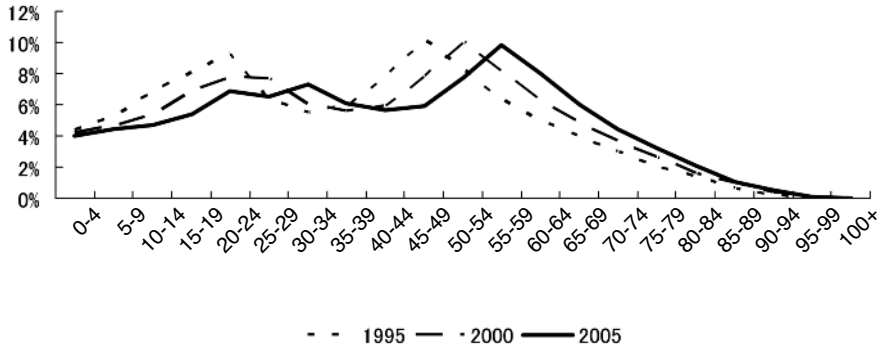
But even in the Higashi Katsushika area, there are differences in the population composition between Matsudo, which is near Tokyo, and Noda, which is the farthest city from Tokyo within this area. As a result, we are also presenting separate data for changes in the population composition of Matsudo (Figure 41) and Noda (Figure 42).

Figure 41
Change in Population Composition: Matsudo



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

Figure 42
Change in Population Composition: Noda



Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

In 2005, Matsudo had a high percentage of residents between the ages of 24 and 39 because of its proximity to Tokyo. Furthermore, there has been little change in this high percentage over the years. In Noda, though, there are low percentages for age segments between 20 and 44 even though the high percentage of this age group is a significant feature of the Metropolitan area's population as a whole. The only notable feature of Noda's population is a small increase in the 20-24 age segment because of nearby universities. On the other hand, the percentage for the 54-59 age segment is extremely high.

Table 11 and Table 12 show changes in the destinations of people commuting to work from Matsudo and Noda. Since 2005 is the reference year, the five-year period starts in 2000 and the 10-year period starts in 1995. Since it is not practical to present statistics for all destinations, we have listed only the top five increases and top five decreases.

Table 11
Changes in Number of Commuters by Destination: Matsudo

Five years		Ten years	
Kashiwa	694	Within Matsudo	3,448
Funabashi	512	Kashiwa	848
Urayasu	428	Urayasu	632
Ichikawa	425	Funabashi	439
Kamagaya	307	Ichikawa	362
Bunkyo ward	−284	Katsushika ward	−1,006
Chiyoda ward	−498	Minato ward	−1,490
Taito ward	−503	Taito ward	−1,712
Chuo ward	−797	Chuo ward	−3,339
Within Matsudo	−3,138	Chiyoda ward	−4,129

Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication

In Matsudo, there has been a decrease in commuters within the city during the five-year period but an increase of more than 3,000 over the 10-year period. In addition, all increases occurred in nearby cities in Chiba prefecture. During the same period, there have been big declines in the number of commuters going to central Tokyo.

Table 12
Changes in Number of Commuters by Destination: Noda

Five years		Ten years	
Within Noda	862	Yoshikawa	329
Nagareyama	192	Nagareyama	298
Ichikawa	165	Shiroi	114
Kasukabe	113	Kasukabe	104
Sugito-machi	59	Sugito-machi	104
Katsushika ward	−90	Taito ward	−167
Shinjuku ward	−104	Katsushika ward	−187
Adachi ward	−130	Adachi ward	−226
Chuo ward	−201	Chuo ward	−456
Chiyoda ward	−213	Chiyoda ward	−649

Reference: National Census, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication

The number of internal commuters is increasing in Noda just as in Matsudo. In fact, the within Noda category ranked first for the five-year period. Furthermore, the number of commuters going to nearby municipalities is increasing while central Tokyo destinations account

for all of the big decreases. Therefore, as in Matsudo, the number of Noda commuters going to central Tokyo has declined substantially.

5. Conclusion

The population in the vicinity around Tokyo continues to grow faster than for the entire Tokyo Metropolitan area. But the characteristics of this growth are different in each district. Population composition differs depending on the distance from central Tokyo. Despite this trend, we cannot state simply that central Tokyo has a large number of young people and seniors and other parts of the Metropolitan area have high percentages of all the other age segments. Since areas with universities attract students, these places have higher percentages of residents between the ages of 15 and 24. But even in areas with no universities, there is no decline in university student-age residents because these areas are within commuting distance of universities. The percentages for age segments starting at 25 differ greatly depending on the number of local jobs and convenience for commuting to central Tokyo. The percentage of residents in the 25-29 age segment is lower in areas where there are few jobs and long distances to central Tokyo. For age segments starting at 35, the population composition percentage depends on when housing was first constructed in an area and the population percentages for different age groups. Housing projects were started many years ago along the Chuo Line and Seibu Line. As a result, the populations of these areas are aging. The Higashi Katsushika and Hachioji-Machida areas are just about to enter this phase of aging. Totsuka and Fujisawa have large numbers of residents in their 40s while the percentage of residents in their 30s is relative high along the Odakyu Line and Keio Line.

Although the population composition differs in each area, one characteristic is applicable to all areas: The number of commuters from suburban areas to central Tokyo is declining while the number of older residents climbs.

Construction of housing in central Tokyo is bringing people back to the urban center of Tokyo. At the same time, the need for a long daily commute to central Tokyo is declining as companies establish more business sites in suburban areas. Moreover, even though the Metropolitan area has a large number of young people, there is also a large number of seniors and people who will soon become seniors. This is why the number of commuters from suburbs to central Tokyo is decreasing along with the increase in the number of people reaching mandatory retirement age. We found this occurring in the northern part of Kawasaki. Furthermore, the same trend is emerging in Tokyo outside the 23 wards and in Higashi Katsushika. While there are some exceptions, this simultaneous decrease in commuters to central Tokyo and increase in retirements is a theme that is happening throughout suburban Tokyo. In addition, the ongoing aging of the Tokyo area's population is supporting growth in the social insurance and social welfare sector. People with jobs in this sector generally work in the same

areas where the people receiving these social services live. This allows workers to live near their jobs and avoid commuting to central Tokyo. The result is growth in the number of people who have jobs near their homes.

In this study, we have examined the status and ongoing transformation of the population, social structure and economy of suburban Tokyo. However, we are unable to formulate generalizations about the status of central Tokyo, Saitama prefecture and other areas because of insufficient information in many categories. We plan to continue working on devising the necessary solutions.

References

Hiroo Harada and Shiro Abe (2009), "Regional Social Structure of Kawasaki City," *Senshu University Urban Policy Research Center Bulletin*, No. 5, pages 281-366 in Japanese

Hiroo Harada and Shiro Abe (2009), Change in Urban Community and Tax Revenue Structure of Kawasaki City, *Kawasaki Urban White Paper, Edition 2, Senshu University Urban Policy Research Center,* pages 63-75 in Japanese.

Tokyo and its vicinities